

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4539

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY KIGALI POUCH

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BUJUMBURA 0695/1

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PINS, SHUM, BY

SUBJECT: TUTSIS, HUTUS, AND STABILITY IN BURUNDI

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE MASS KILLINGS OF HUTUS BY TUTSIS IN 1972 AND 1973 HAVE BEEN FOLLOWED BY TRANQUILITY IN 1974, BASED ON HUTU POWERLESSNESS AND COMPLETE TUTSI POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC PREDOMINANCE. AT THE BOTTOM OF TUTSI RETHLESSNESS HAS BEEN THE INSTINCT FOR ETHNIC SELF-PRESERVATION, AND THE REGIME IS STILL MORE INTERESTED IN PERFECTING ITS ORGANS AND INSTITUTIONS OF CONTROL THAN IN VIGOROUSLY PROMOTING EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND GREATER JUSTICE FOR THE UNDERDOG HUTU MAJORITY. NONETHELESS, SOME MORE MODERATE AND BETTER EDUCATED TUTSI LEADERS, PERHAPS INCLUDING MICOMBERO, WOULD PROBABLY LIKE TO REINTEGRATE MORE HUTUS INTO THE TUTSI-RUN SYSTEM. THEIR DIPLOMACY HAS SUCCESSFULLY REDUCED THE THREAT OF HUTU INCURSIONS FROM ABROAD; AND WITH THE LIKELIHOOD OF THEIR CONTINUING FULL CONTROL AT HOME, AND WITH THE PROSPECTS OF ECONOMIC EXPANSION

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BY 1980, A BETTER, IF STILL INCOMMENSURATE, BREAK FOR THE HUTUS

OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS SEEMS RATHER CERTAIN. EVEN IF DOMESTIC FACTORS ARE CONTROLLING ON ETHNIC ISSUES, MODEST FOREIGN PERSUASION AND CAREFULLY TAILORED AID AND LOAN PROGRAMS CAN ENCOURAGE TUTSI MODERATION. CERTAINLY NO OTHER POLICY APPROACH TO BURUNDI BY OUTSIDE POWERS SHOWS ANY BETTER PROMISE FOR IMPROVING THE HUTU LOT. END SUMMARY

1. ABOUT EIGHTEEN MONTHS HAVE ELAPSED SINCE THE LAST NOTE-WORTHY CLASHES TOOK PLACE BETWEEN HUTUS AND ELEMENTS OF BURUNDI'S TUTSI GOVERNMENT. THE ROUGHLY ESTIMATED TEN OR FIFTEEN THOUSAND HUTU VICTIMS OF THAT EPISODE WERE ONLY ONE-FIFTH TO ONE-TENTH OF THE NUMBER OF THEIR FELLOWS EVIDENTLY FALLEN IN 1972, WHEN A LARGE-SCALE MASSACRE OF THE GREAT BULK OF EDUCATED, AND OF EVEN MERELY LITERATE, HUTUS OCCURRED. WHETHER OWING TO GENERAL HUTU EXHAUSTION, TO HUTU SUBMISSION TO TUTSI INTIMIDATION, OR, CONVERSELY, TO HUTU RELAXATION IN RESPONSE TO RECENTLY LESS HARSH TUTSI REPRESSIVE MEASURES, THE YEAR 1974 HAS IN ANY EVENT BEEN A SUCCESS FOR ETHNIC LAW AND ORDER. NEVERTHELESS, TWO QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE TO U.S. INTERESTS IN BURUNDI MUST STILL BE ADDRESSED. WHAT ARE THE FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR ETHNIC STABILITY IN THE COUNTRY, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF POSSIBLY MAJOR U.S. INVESTMENT IN MINERAL PROJECTS OVER THE NEXT YEARS? AND WHAT ARE THE CHANCES OF GREATER SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE FOR THE UNDERDIG HUTUS?

2. THE CASUAL VISITOR TO BURUNDI WOULD NOT EVEN BE AWARE OF THE TRAUMATIC EVENTS OF THE RECENT PAST, SINCE THE VERY FACT THAT THERE ARE TWO SEPARATE MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE COUNTRY (THOUGH OF THE SAME LANGUAGE AND CULTURE), OR THAT THERE IS OR HAS BEEN DRAMATIC TROUBLE BETWEEN THEM IS NEVER ALLUDED TO, AND NEVER BECOMES VISIBLE, IN ANY OVERT, PUBLIC WAY. YET, IT IS OF COURSE AND UNDERLYING SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REALITY, WHICH, HOWEVER UNSPOKEN IN DIRECT TERMS, IS OFTEN IN PEOPLE'S MINDS, BOTH AS THEY REMEMBER THE RECENT PAST AND CONTEMPLATE AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE. THE NEAREST SURFACE INDICATION OF THE PROBLEM'S EXISTENCE COMES IN THE OCCASIONAL CALLS FROM SOME HIGH-LEVEL PERSONALITIES, INCLUDING MICOMBERO, FOR "PEACE, UNITY, AND JUSTICE" IN THE COUNTRY. THESE SLOGANS PROBABLY CONVEY TO THE INITIATED THE SENSE THAT DOMESTIC TENSIONS OUGHT

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NOT CONTINUE AT PAST LEVELS, AND THAT SOME DEGREE OF ETHNIC RECONCILIATION IS NECESSARY, OR AT LEAST DESIRABLE.

3. TO SAY THAT GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY ARE TUTSI-DOMINATED MAY NOT GIVE A FULL IMPRESSION OF TUTSI MASTERY. WHILE THERE MAY BE A RESIDUAL HUTU, WITH PAST LUCK OR WITH PRESENT FAMILY OR PERSONAL CONNECTIONS TO INFLUENTIAL TUTSIS, WHO HAS SURVIVED IN A PROMINENT GOVERNMENT OR ECONOMIC POSITION (MOST

NOTABLY THE FIVE "SHOWPIECE" HUTUS WHO HOLD CABINET RANK), THE PERSONAL SECURITY AND LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT OF THE EIGHTY-FIVE PERCENT OF THE POPULATION WHICH IS HUTU ARE ALMOST WHOLLY DEPENDENT ON THE DECISIONS AND ACTIONS OF THE RULING TUTSI MINORITY. BENEATH THE FIVE MINISTERIAL-RANK HUTUS, THERE ARE ONLY A LITERAL HANDFUL IN SIGNIFICANT CIVIL SERVICE POSTS. APART FROM TWO BISHOPS AND SOME PRIESTS IN ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY HUTU DISTRICTS, THE PRIESTHOOD AND CATHOLIC HIERARCHY ARE WITH MINOR EXCEPTIONS IN TUTSI HANDS. IN ADDITION, THE MILITARY FROM TOP TO BOTTOM, THE UNIVERSITY (ALL OF THE FEW BARUNDI FACULTY MEMBERS AND ALL BUT A VERY FEW STUDENTS), THE GREAT BULK OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS, BUSINESSMEN OF SOME SUBSTANCE, SIGNIFICANT LANDOWNERS, THE SMALL PROFESSIONAL CLASS, THE JUDICIARY, AND SUCH PARTY OFFICIALS AS WE KNOW ABOUT ARE OVERWHELMINGLY, IF NOT ENTIRELY, TUTSI.

4. POLITICS IS FAIRLY VARIEGATED, VIGOROUS, VAGARIOUS, AND VICIOUS IN BURUNDI, AND HIGH TUTSIS FLY INTO AND OUT OF OFFICE (AND SOMETIMES JAIL) IN RAPID SUCCESSION; BUT THIS ALL CONCERNS THE FACTS AND FORTUNES OF ONLY THE TINE TOP LAYER OF THE CURRENT TUTSI ELITE (WHOSE LEADERS ARE LARGELY FROM A LOWER CASTE THAN RULED UNDER THE MONARCHY). IN ACTING OUT BITTER RIVALRIES,

TUTSIS DO KILL EACH OTHER OFF (EVEN DOING SO SOMEWHAT IN 1972), BUT, VIS-A-VIS ANY GENUINE THREAT TO TUTSI SUPREMACY, AS DEVELOPED IN 1972, TUTSI FACTIONALISM TENDS TO DISAPPEAR FOR THE DURATION OF THE IMMEDIATE DANGER. QUITE CLEARLY, THE UNDERLYING MOTIVATION FOR TUTSI POLICIES OF RULE IS THE INSTINCT FOR SURVIVAL AS A GROUP WITH SUBSTANTIAL CONTROL OVER ITS OWN DESTINY. WHATEVER THE THEORITICAL POSSIBILITIES OF EVENTUAL ETHNIC AMITY IN BURUNDI, THE EXPERIENCE OF THEIR FELLOW TUTSI MINORITY IN RWANDA BEGINNING WITH THE LATE FIFTIES IS SEEN BY BURUNDI TUTSIS AS A DIRE OBJECT LESSON, IN
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WHICH RWANDAN TUTSIS HAVE BEEN OVERTURNED AS THE TRADITIONAL MASTERS, AND THEIR LIVES, WORK, AND CAREERS MADE ESSENTIALLY DEPENDENT ON THE GOOD WILL OF RWANDAN HUTUS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BUJUMBURA 0695/2

MANY RULING BURUNDI TUTSIS ASSUME THAT IF THE WORM EVER TURNED IN THIS COUNTRY, THEY WOULD PROBABLY NOT EVEN END UP WITH THE ACKNOWLEDGED MINORITY STATUS AND TEN PERCENT QUOTA ALLOCATION OF THEIR RWANDAN BRETHEREN, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF BURUNDI HUTU MEMORIES OF PAST TUTSI SUPPRESSIONS AND KILLINGS, WHICH MIGHT PUT THE VERY PHYSICAL SURVIVAL OF MANY OR MOST OF BURUNDI'S 2'0,000 TUTSIS INTO QUESTION. THE LATTER WILL THUS EXERT EVERY BIT OF THEIR CONSIDERABLE IOZELLIGENCE, ORGANIZATIONAL SKILL AND IMPRESSIVE INTERNAL POWER POSITION TO PREVENT ANY OVERTURN FROM HAPPENING.

5. THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THESE HARSH REALITIES BY MICOMBERO AND HIS ENTOURAGE DOES NOT MEAN THAT THEY JUSTIFY THEI RULE ON ANY SUCH CRASS BASIS AS SHEER MIGHT. ON THE CONTRARY, THEY EXPEND GREAT EFFORTS ON LEGITIMIZING THEIR POSITION, AND THEY UNDOUBTEDLY BELIEVE IN MOST OR ALL OF THE SELF-JUSTIFICATION INVOLVED. THEIR ESSENTIAL LINE IS THAT THEY NEVER SET OUT TO CREATE AN EXCLUSIVIST TUTSI STATE; THAT THERE WAS SUBSTANTIAL ROOM FOR HUTUS
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TO GAIN POWER AND POSITION IN THE COUNTRY BOTH DURING THE MONARCHY AND OFTER MICOMBERO'S 1966 INSTALLATION OF A REPUBLIC (WHICH IS GENERALLY TRUE); THAT THE TROUBLES AROSE ONLY BECAUSE CERTAIN OVERLY AMBITIOUS HUTUS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE BURUNDI SOUGHT TO SEIZE FULL POWER; AND THAT, WITH SUCH MOVES THWARTED, THERE WILL BE NO DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ANY LOYAL CITIZEN, HUTU OR TUTSI,

WHO IS WILLING TO WORK WITHIN THE ESTABLISHED ORDER. TO THIS LINE, WE MAY ADD THAT SINCE THEY, AS TUTSIS, ARE RAISED IN ANCIENT TRADITIONS OF SOCIETAL PREDOMINANCE, AND SINCE THEY ARE INCULCATED WITH NO INSTINCT FOR MAJORITY RULE, THEY FEEL NO EMOTIONAL QUALMS ABOUT MAINTAINING THE SYSTEM OF MINORITY CONTROL NOW IN BEING.

6. NONETHELESS, AS WITH OTHER BELEAGUERED RULING MINORITIES (WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA, REFUGEE MAINLANDERS ON TWIWAN, OR JEWS IN ARAB-SURROUND ISRAEL), A DEBATE GOES ON ABOUT WHETHER GROUP SECURITY IS ULTIMATELY BEST ATTAINED BY STERN USE OF FORCE OR BY A MIX OF MEASURES FORCE AND "SAFE" CONCESSIONS TO THE MAJORITY. HERE, THE EXPONENTS OF THE LATTER THEME ARE THE MORE MODERATE TUTSI LEADERS WITH SOME MODERN EDUCATION AND EXPOSURE TO FOREIGN IDEAS--THIS CATEGORY MAY INCLUDE MICOMBERO, SOME PROMINENT CIVILIANS, AND MUCH OF THE TOP MILITARY COMMAND--WHO ARE PROBABLY INTELLECTUALLY WILLING TO ACCEPT THE IDEA OF EVENTUAL EQUALITY OF ETHNIC OPPORTUNITY.

IN FACT, AT THIS HIGH LEVEL, THERE IS NO OUTWARD SIGN OF STRAIN IN RELATIONS BETWEEN, FOR EXAMPLE, THE TUTSI AND HUTU CABINET MEMBERS. HOWEVER, THE REALITY EXPRESSES ITSELF NOT THROUGH THE ATTITUDE OF A PAPER THIN LAYER OF LEADERS, BUT IN THE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF INDIVIDUAL ENCOUNTERS DAY TO DAY BETWEEN THE HUTU MASSES AND TUTSI OFFICIALS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. HOW IS A LOCAL INTER-ETHNIC COURT CASE HANDLED OR A LAND DISPUTE SETTLED BY A TUTSI JUDGE? WILL A HUTU PRIMARY SCHOOL GRADUATE BE ACCEPTED FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL AGAINST A TUTSI COMPETITOR WHEN THERE IS ROOM FOR ONLY ONE IN EIGHT PRIMARY GRADUATES IN ANY CASE? WILL HUTU FARMERS BE GIVEN A CHANCE TO BENEFIT FROM GOVERNMENT CROP OR LIVESTOCK ASSISTANCE? WILL A HUTU YOUTH EVEN DARE TO ANSWER AN ARMY RECRUITING APPEAL, MUCH LESS APPLY FOR NONCOM OR OFFICER SCHOOL? PROBABLY NOT EVEN THE TUTSI AUTHORITIES, AND CERTAINLY NO OUTSIDE OBSERVERS, HAVE A STATISTICAL ANSWER TO THESE QUESTIONS, BUT REPORTS FROM MISSIONARIES AROUND THE COUNTRY LEAD US TO THINK THAT CONCRETE PROGRESS FOR HUTUS IS CONFIDENTIAL

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PAINFULLY SLOW. EVEN WHEN THE AUTHORITIES ARE WILLING TO BE EVEN-HANDED (AND THIS APPARENTLY HAPPENS SOMETIMES), OR EVEN WHEN A FOREIGN MISSIONARY OFFERS A CHANCE TO A HUTU YOUTH, HUTU PARENTS OFTEN HOOD THEIR CHILDREN BACK FROM PUSHING AHEAD, LEST THEY BE KILLED OFF IN SOME FUTURE OUTBREAK OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE, AS WAS THE FATE OF THE GREAT BULK OF LITERATE HUTUS TWO YEARS AGO.

7. IT IS THUS EVIDENT THAT THE GREAT WEIGHT OF BUREAUCRATIC MOMENTUM, OF TUTSI INSTINCTS FOR PERSONAL SELF-PRESERVATION, AND OF HUTU RELUCTANCE TO BECOME "UPPITY" AND VISIBLE ALL WORK TO PERPETUATE THE STATUS QUO OF TUTSI DOMINATION. A SUSTAINED AND DETERMINED CAMPAIGN FROM THE RULING TUTSI CENTER

TO FORCE GREATER EQUALITY OF TREATMENT OF HUTUS MIGHT MAKE SUBSTANTIAL INROADS, BUT NO SUCH CAMPAIGN IS EITHER IN PROSPECT OF PERHAPS EVEN FEASIBLE IN BUREAUCRATIC-POLITICAL TERMS. INDEED, THE MAIN POLITICAL ENERGIES OF THE REGIME ARE NOW DEVOTED TO REINFORCING THE VITALITY AND AUTHORITY OF ITS SINGLE PARTY (UPRONA) AND OF THE PARTY'S AUXILIARY ORGANIZATIONS (SUCH AS FOR YOUTH) THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. WHILE SOME HUTUS ARE PARTY MEMBERS--IN FACT, MOST LOWEST-LEVEL MEMBERS MUST BE HUTUS IN SUCH PROVINCES AS NGOZI WHERE VERY FEW TUTSIS ARE NATIVES--THE FACT THAT THE HIERARCHY IS PREDOMINANTLY TUTSI (ALMOST TOTALLY AT PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL LEVELS) MAKES UPRONA INTO ANOTHER INSTRUMENT OF CONTROL. (THE ALLOCATION OF A SECOND HAT AT NATIONAL SECRET POLICE CHIEF TO THE PARTY'S NUMBER TWO MAN, BELOW MICOMBERO, HAS ALREADY ALLOWED THE SURETE TO ENLIST SOME PARTY MEMBERS AS INFORMERS.) THUS, THE REGIME'S FOCUS IS STILL ON CONSOLIDATING TUTSI CONTROL RATHER THAN ON BROADENING THE POWER STRUCTURE TO INCLUDE SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF HUTUS, EVEN IF SUITABLE HUTU CANDIDATES HAD NOT ANYWAY BEEN LARGELY WIPED OUT TWO YEARS AGO.

8. THE CONCLUSION IS INEVITABLE THAT THE LEADERLESS, EDUCATIONALLY DEPRIVED, UNORGANIZED, AND INTIMIDATED HUTU MAJORITY OF BURUNDI IS NEITHER CAPABLE OF REVOLT NOR LIKELY TO TRY IT ANYTIME IN THE REST OF THIS DECADE. THERE ARE, OF COURSE, EXILE HUTU INTELLECTUALS IN EUROPE (MOSTLY BELGIUM) AND UP TO PERHAPS 200,000 REFUGEES IN NEIGHBORING RWANDA, ZAIRE, AND TANZANIA. MANY OF THESE PEOPLE HARBOR THOUGHTS OF REVENGE, AND INDEED, THE LARGE SCALE KILLINGS IN 1972 AND

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1973 WERE PROBABLY TRIGGERED OFF BY OUTSIDE HUTU INCURSIONS, ACCOMPANIED IN 1972 BY MOVES WITHIN BURUNDI BY HUTU ACTIVISTS, SEEKING TO OVERTHROW TUTSI RULE. HOWEVER, A COMBINATION OF SUCCESSFUL BURUNDI DIPLOMACY (BUJUMBURA 618) AND PERSISTENT IF SLOW MOVING UNHCR ACTION TO GET THE REFUGEES AWAY FROM AREAS NEAR BURUNDI FRONTIERS HAS PROBABLY BOTH SHARPLY REDUCED THE RISK OF ARMED INTRUSION INTO BURUNDI FROM ABROAD, AT LEAST ON A SIGNIFICANT SCALE, AND PERHAPS INSUPERABLY COMPLICATED THE LOGISTICS FOR ANY WOULD BE EXILE ATTACKERS. THE TURNABOUT IN RWANDA IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT FOR THE BURUNDI REGIME, SINCE, IF A NEIGHBORING HUTU-RUN STATE IS WILLING TO SWALLOW ITS EMOTIONS AND TO TALK OF AMITY AND PEACE, OTHER LESS DIRECTLY INTERESTED NEARBY AFRICAN STATES BARRING A TOTAL SHIFT OF POLICY TOWARD BURUNDI BY MOBUTU OR NYERERE, ARE NOT LIKELY TO ENCOURAGE OR EVEN TOLERATE ANTI-BURUNDI ACTIVITIES FROM THEIR SOIL (EVEN IF TANZANIA BASICALLY DOES NOT MUCH LIKE THE REGIME SET-UP IN BURUNDI).

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9. IN THIS REGIONAL AND DOMESTIC SITUATION, BURUNDI'S HUTUS WILL PROBABLY FEEL EVER MORE RESIGNED TO THEIR LOT AND WILL TEND GRADUALLY TO BEGIN WORKING WITHIN THE SYSTEM WHICH THEY HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO ACCEPT, UNLESS THE QUITE IMPROBABLE EVENT OCCURS OF SUCH A TOTAL BREAKDOWN OF STATE AUTHORITY WITHIN BURUNDI FROM A MASSIVE INTERNECINE TUTSI FACTIONAL DISPUTE THAT THE HUTUS WOULD INHERIT POWER ALMOST EFFORTLESSLY. OVERALL, THEREFORE, THE PROSPECTS FOR ETHNIC STABILITY IN BURUNDI ARE RATHER GOOD FOR THIS DECADE, EVEN IF THE PROSPECTS FOR ETHNIC JUSTICE ARE MUCH LESS PROMISING. YET, EVEN ON THE LATTER SCORE, THERE CAN BE SOME LONG RANGE HOPE. MODERATE TUTSI LEADERS ARE ALREADY WILLING TO ENCOURAGE EXCEPTIONAL HUTU YOUTH IN INDIVIDUAL CASES IN SOME FIELDS. THE WHOLE MISSIONARY AND INDIGENOUS CHURCH IMPETUS, CATHOLIC AND

PROTESTANT, IS IN THE SAME DIRECTION. IN ADDITION, THE BURUNDI LEADERSHIP IS AWARE OF FOREIGN PRESSURES, HOWEVER MUTED, FOR IMPROVED HUTU CONDITIONS, AND IT KNOWS THAT ITS BEHAVIOR TOWARD HUTUS COULD HAVE SOME INFLUENCE OVER THE SIZE AND PACE OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NICKEL AND OTHER MINERALS IN BURUNDI.

10. THE KEY TO AN ETHNIC MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE BEGINNINGS OF SOME JUSTICE FOR HUTUS IS THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER, BECAUSE ONLY IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WILL THE TUTSI RULERS BE ABLE TO FEEL LESS ANXIOUS ABOUT THEIR SECURITY, AND WILL MORE OF THE LEADERS BE WILLING TO CONSIDER JOINING THE RANKS OF THE MODERATES, WHO ARE PREPARED TO GIVE HUTUS A BETTER BREAK. IN ADDITION, IF THERE IS AN UPSURGE OF THE ECONOMY OVER THE NEXT FIVE TO EIGHT YEARS FROM FOREIGN INVESTMENT, MORE JOB AND TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES WILL APPEAR THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE HUTU MAJORITY WILL BE BOUND TO GET A LARGER SHARE THAN AT PRESENT, EVEN IF STILL NOT COMMENSURATE WITH ITS PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION. HUTU FORTUNES, THEREFORE, WILL COME TO REST ON DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS IN BURUNDI--INTERNAL TRANQUILITY, TUTSI SELF-CONFIDENCE, AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION. GIVENTHESE CONDITIONS, TACTFUL EXTERNAL PRESSURE CAN ALSO BE USEFUL, IF DISCREETLY APPLIED BY MEASURED PERSUASION, BY QUIET EXAMPLE IN THE DEALINGS OF FOREIGNERS WITH INDIVIDUAL HUTUS IN BURUNDI, AND BY AID AND LOAN PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO DISPERSE BENEFITS TO ALL SEGMENTS OF SOCIETY. CHANGES IN ETHNIC ATTITUDES IN BURUNDI WILL BE EXCEEDINGLY GRADUAL, BUT THEY WILL PROBABLY TAKE PLACE. THERE IS CONFIDENTIAL

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NO OTHER POLITICAL COURSE NOW IN SIGHT WHICH OFFERS THE HUTU MASSES ANY BETTER PROSPECT FOR IMPROVING THEIR POSITION THAN TO PLAY BY THE RULES LAID OUT BY THE TUTSI REGIME, EVEN THOUGH NO ONE CAN NOW ENVISAGE THE DAY WHEN ETHNIC FACTORS WILL CEASE TO BE OF CONSIDERABLE SIGNIFICANCE IN THE LIFE OF THE NATION AND OF ALL ITS CITIZENS. MARK

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